

THE
LITTLE BLACK BOOK



A
JULIUS EVOLA
READER

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TRADITION

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FOREWORD

The end of the millennium marks a symbolic date for Christianity, although it should be noted that it has no particular significance for Hindus, Muslims, Jews, and Buddhists. And yet the general crisis that is unfolding at the turn of the 21st century and affecting global society is visible to the naked eye. Whether or not this crisis coincides with the beginning of the third millennium is of little importance: what matters is to realize that it exists and that it is having negative effects on our countries.

The problem that then arises for every individual who is aware of themselves and the world around them is how to deal with this crisis, given the little influence they have in the face of globalization, on political, social, and economic events, which are often directed from outside by powerful forces, sometimes referred to as “occult,” but which today operate in full view, even though individuals have expressed, within the limits allowed by modern democracies (elections,

referendums, media), opinions that are all different and which are not taken into account in the least.

The existence of a crisis is unanimously recognized by sociologists and psychologists, philosophers, economists, and scientists, but less so by politicians, who have every interest in hiding what they should be able to control. But the recipes for overcoming this crisis are not unanimous. Too often, we resort to weak thinking that accepts the crisis, acknowledges that it cannot be prevented, and allows itself to be carried along by the tide without making any attempt to counter it: it seeks only to understand and adapt. Its common expression is *political correctness*, the modern face of hypocrisy fed by the most extreme demagoguery. It closes its eyes to the ugliness of society by seeking to erase it from discourse; it disguises facts, events, and people by finding new, often ridiculous and grotesque definitions for them; it eliminates from spoken language and even

from dictionaries terms considered inappropriate by various lobbies (intellectual, religious, political, ethnic). This is how it proceeds.

Traditional thinking remains a possible compass in the contemporary chaos, having predicted what was to come and proposed alternatives and remedies. As we know, René Guénon and Julius Evola embodied two paths, that of contemplation and that of action, *brahmin* and *kshatriya*. According to Evola, the path of action (disinterested and spiritual) must be recommended for two reasons: first, because it is more in keeping with the Western way of being; second, because, having to live in the *kaliyuga*, the final age of many traditions, not only Eastern but also Western, the only philosophy that can be prescribed is that of the Tantras, also known as the *Left-Hand Path*.

Julius Evola (1898-1974) was a complex and multifaceted thinker in the sense that, during half a century of intense intellectual activity, he was interested, both

theoretically and practically, in a wide range of questions, intellectual orientations, and activities: he was a painter and philosopher, poet and hermeticist, morphologist of history and political scientist, critic of customs and sexologist, orientalist and mythologist, specialist in religions and Tradition. But he was also a skilled mountaineer and university lecturer. This should enable those who are interested to choose a particular aspect of his thought: often, however, the multiple themes intertwine and could cause some confusion. It has therefore become necessary, as a guide to Evola's ideas, to establish a kind of synthesis that allows, on the one hand, to have a general overview of his thought and, on the other, to make a choice. This is especially important for younger readers.

In 1971, at the height of the protest movements, I formulated an idea of this kind in order to provide guidance to the generations caught up in the turmoil that, thirty years later, would give birth to our

society. I turned to an expert, Giovanni Conti, who had compiled a selection of Evola's thoughts for his own use. This led Giovanni Volpe, son of the famous historian Gioacchino Volpe, to publish a small volume of excerpts from Evola's works (books, essays, articles, and interviews) and entitled *Citazioni* (Quotations). This was a clearly provocative reference to the *Quotations from the Works of Mao*, which at the time were circulating among rebellious young people under the common name of "Little Red Book." Despite their uneven distribution, Evola's ideas were methodically opposed to those that symbolized subversion at the time. Regardless of what happened at the time, it can be said that while no one today is interested in the Chinese leader's thinking, Evola's ideas continue to resonate and spread, not only in Italy but also in France and elsewhere (Evola has been translated in the United States, Romania, Hungary, and Turkey).

The English edition we are presenting here is based on the selection of quotations made in 1972 and is being published alongside the new Italian edition entitled *The Portable Evola*. Both editions are intended for new readers of Evola as well as more accomplished ones, seeking to offer them an acceptable synthesis of Evola's thought in order to guide them in their choices.

Julius Evola always fought for an inner revolution, a spiritual revolution, seeking to reconcile the metaphysical concept of tradition with the ideological concept of the right, and even of a spiritual right, as he often described it. Evola was left paralyzed following a bombing in Vienna in 1945. He was then accused, during a trial in Rome in 1951, of having been the mentor of a group of young people arrested for “reconstituting the fascist party” and acts of violence. In his defense, he claimed his adherence to Tradition, his support for fascism insofar as it coincided with Tradition, and his fight for a spiritual

revolution rather than a revolution achieved through violent acts or armed action.

This is why Julius Evola's thinking is important: on the one hand, his *Revolt Against the Modern World* is total and he gives us the causes of the crisis in the West; on the other hand, he provides individual countermeasures: to emerge unscathed, spiritually unscathed, from the general crisis; to confront and defeat the evil to which Europe is succumbing, nihilism; to avoid being drawn into the perversion of the sacred perpetrated by neo-spiritualism, which today has taken the name New Age; to avoid being conditioned by the facts and ideas of the American-centered dictatorship, progressive unanimity, market globalization, standardization of tastes and fashion, in short, this Society of Whining, as described by the English critic Richard Hughes, whose true face is a monolithic way of thinking that eliminates dissenters and, in some European countries, reintroduces the crime of

opinion in order to silence at all costs those who refuse to conform. Once the communist dictatorships in the East fell, it seems that the liberal-democratic West found it necessary to adopt some of their methods in order to consolidate the democratic regimes in place.

Such a panorama is enough to define the right fight, as it must be fought, that is, regardless of its actual results. Moreover, there is a positive and reaffirming side: Evola is not addressing those who take refuge in an ivory tower, but those who, even on a personal level, like to bear witness, a testimony of consistency. Extroverted attitudes are not necessary: one must simply, as Evola often wrote, do what must be done, according to the ancient Sanskrit maxim; do it according to one's own personal equation, which is obviously not the same for everyone. It was precisely with the diversity of his readers in mind that the traditionalist philosopher wrote his books. He explicitly recalled this on various occasions: for those who want

to follow the Western path, there is The Hermetic Tradition and The Mystery of the Grail; for those who want to follow the Eastern path, there is The Doctrine of Awakening and The Yoga of Power; for those who want to follow an existential and inner path, Riding the Tiger; for those who want to follow a political and outer path, Men in the Middle of the Ruins.

There can be no ambiguity in Evola's words. Even in the synthesis that constitutes this breviary, there is none. We therefore hope that it will serve as a handy and effective guide along the varied paths of Evola's thought. A breviary to escape the meanderings of chaos, to escape the labyrinth of the modern world.

TRADITION

Only a return to the traditional spirit in the new European consciousness can save the West.

Beyond the *pluralism* of cultures, we must identify—especially if we stick to the times that we can see with some certainty and to the essential structures—a *dualism* of civilizations. On the one hand, there is modern civilization, and on the other, all the cultures that preceded it (for the West, let us say until the end of the Middle Ages). Here the divide is complete. Beyond the multiple variety of its forms, pre-modern or, as it may be called, traditional culture represents something effectively different. These are two worlds, the second of which has differentiated itself to the point of no longer having any spiritual elements in common with the first.

The Hermetic Tradition (1931)

To dissolve into the mirage of a pure flow of time, a pure flight, a tension that pushes ever further toward its own goal, a process that cannot and will not be appeased by any possession and that consumes itself entirely in terms of history: this is one of the fundamental characteristics of the modern world, and also the one that separates two eras, not so much in the historical sense as in the ideal, organic, and metaphysical sense. But the fact that traditional cultures now belong to the past is accidental: the modern world and the traditional world can still be regarded as two universal types, as two a priori categories of culture.

Revolt Against the Modern World
(1934)



We readily speak of *European tradition* and *European culture*. Unfortunately, we often content ourselves with mere words. Europe has long since forgotten what tradition means in its highest sense. One could say that tradition in its fullest sense, as distinct from mere traditionalism, is a category belonging to a world that has almost disappeared, to times when a single educational force manifested itself in customs as well as in faith, in law as well as in political forms and culture, in short, in all areas of existence.

Men Among the Ruins (1967)



Modern cultures are devourers of space, traditional cultures were devourers of time. The former have a dizzying fever for movement and territorial conquest,

which generates an infinite arsenal of mechanical means capable of reducing the greatest distances, shortening every interval, and containing within a sensation of ubiquity everything that unfolds in the multitude of places [...] On the contrary, traditional cultures were dizzying in their stability, identity, and ability to resist, unshakably, the passage of time and history: they were able to express a symbol of eternity in tangible and perceptible forms.

The Bow and the Club (1968)



By *traditional culture*, we mean an organic culture in which all activities are organized around a central idea and, strictly speaking, “from the top down.” “Upward” means toward something

higher than what is simply natural and human. This orientation presupposes a set of principles that have the value of immutable norms and a metaphysical character. Such a set can be given the name Tradition in the singular, because the basic values and principles are essentially the same in distinct historical traditions, apart from their specific adaptations and formulations. Anyone who recognizes such values and affirms them can call themselves a man of Tradition.

Interview with Gianfranco de Turris,
L'Italiano (November 1970)



In the historical sphere, Tradition refers to what might be called an *immanent transcendence*. It is the recurring idea that a force from above has acted on

one area or another, on one historical cycle or another, in such a way that spiritual and supra-individual values constitute the axis and supreme point of reference for the general organization, formation, and justification of all reality, of all subordinate and similarly human activity.

This force is a presence that is transmitted, and the transmission of this force, precisely because it transcends historical contingencies, constitutes Tradition itself. Normally, Tradition in this sense is the responsibility of those at the top of the corresponding hierarchies, or of an elite, and in its original and complete forms, there is no separation between temporal power and spiritual power, the latter being, in principle, the foundation, legitimation, and consecration of the former.

“Il Conciliatore” (June 15, 1971)

HISTORY

There is no such thing as History, a mysterious entity written with a capital H. It is men, insofar as they are truly men, who make and unmake history.

While the contemplative moment of ancient Greece made the divine world a kind of timeless super-world and, so to speak, an absolute space, Rome strove to take this world as it manifested itself in time, in history, in the state, in the actions and creations of men, while preserving its august character. Much more than the Jew, the Roman had a sense of *sacred history*. And the Roman conception of the state, law, and *imperium* is essentially linked to the premises of this conception, which is both active and sacred. In Rome, the warrior and political caste was endowed with sacred dignity.

Introduction to Magic (1928)

Christianity, with its transcendental values revolving around “the expectation of the Kingdom that is not of this world,” violates the harmonious synthesis of the political and the spiritual, of kingship and priesthood, that was known in the ancient world. And modern political stupidity is only the extreme consequence of this split created by early Christianity and consubstantial with the essence of early Christianity. Taken in itself, in its subtle Bolshevism and its profound contempt for the concerns of this world, Jesus' preaching could only lead to one thing: to make not only the state but society itself impossible. But since Christianity proved to be a poor propagator of this teaching—the coming of the Kingdom—the spirit and intransigence of the early preaching were betrayed, and thus was born, as a stopgap, a normalization that made room in this world for “that which is not of this world,” the compromise between the world and the gospel of the early preaching were betrayed, and thus was born, as a stopgap, a normalization making room in

this world for “that which is not of this world,” the compromise between Christianity and paganism that is the Catholic Church.

Pagan Imperialism (1928)



The Reformation was the return of primitive Christianity, in reaction to the humanism that had marked a limit of paganization within the Catholic Church. Protestant intransigence put an end to the Catholic compromise and thus took the direct path to anti-empire. A revolution of religious consciousness, the Reformation was to provoke a profound upheaval in political thought. By freeing consciences from Rome and secularizing and socializing the Church, it turned the form of the primitive *Yecclesia* into a political

reality. The Reformation replaced the hierarchy from above with the free association of believers emancipated from the bond of authority, which each became his own arbiter and the equal of his neighbor. *This was, in other words, the principle of European liberal-democratic decadence.*

Pagan Imperialism (1928)



Through the central themes of its civilization and its way of looking at things and life, America has created something new that is the precise contradiction of our culture and tradition as Europeans, into which it nevertheless penetrates and increasingly opposes. It has distilled the religion of experience into our age, placing the pursuit of profit, production, and

immediate, visible, and quantitative achievements above all other concerns. It has built a titanic being with gold in its veins, machines instead of limbs, technology for a brain, and before which Europe—even though it was the initiator of modern forms of large-scale industrial production—stands in awe: it stops because it senses the ultimate consequences that logically follow from its initial impulse, and at the same time recognizes in this titan a kind of reduction to absurdity that it could accept as its destiny only at the irreparable cost of compromising its previous culture, which constituted its true personality.

Nuova Antologia (May 1, 1929)



Absolutism — the materialist transposition of the traditional unitary idea—opens the way to demagoguery and national revolutions. And where kings, in their struggle against the feudal aristocracy and their work of political centralization, were logically inclined to favor the demands of the bourgeoisie and the plebs against the feudal nobility, the process was accomplished more quickly.

Revolt Against the Modern World
(1934)



It can be said that it was precisely because France was one of the first to initiate such an upheaval, giving a centralizing and nationalist character to the idea of the state, that it was the first to suffer the collapse of the monarchical

regime and the advent of the Republic, in the sense of a resolute and declared coming to power of the Third Estate, to such an extent that it appeared to the European nations as the main hotbed of revolutionary ferment and of the secular, nationalist, and enlightened mentality, and therefore deadly to the last remnants of Tradition.

Revolt Against the Modern World
(1934)



A true right-wing historiography should embrace the same horizons as Marxist historiography, with the desire to grasp the essence of the historical process of the last few centuries, taken outside of myths, superstitions, or simple chronicle of events. While naturally reversing the

signs and perspectives, and seeing in the converging processes of recent history not the phases of political and social progress, but those of a general subversion. Logically, the economic-materialist presupposition would be eliminated once the fiction of *homo oeconomicus* and the supposedly fatal determinism of production systems were unmasked. Forces much broader, deeper, and more complex than those known to Marxist historical materialism are at work in history.

“Il Conciliatore” (November 1959)

CONTESTATION OF THE MODERN WORLD

Europe has created a world which, in all its components, constitutes the irremediable and complete antithesis of the traditional world. There is no compromise or reconciliation possible, the two conceptions being separated by an abyss over which any bridge would be illusory.

Pagan Imperialism (1928)



We are faced with the law that dominates all of today's culture and society: on the lower level, industrial orgasm, means that become ends, mechanization, the system of economic and material determinism, punctuated by science—linked to careerism, to the race for success of men who do not live but are lived—and, at the limit, the new myths

evoked of an *indefinite*, progress based on social service and work as an end in itself and a universal duty; on the higher level, the whole set of Faustian, Adventist, Bergsonian doctrines... It is not a question of action, but of feverish action. It is the dizzying race of those who have been thrown off the axis of the wheel and whose race becomes increasingly frenzied as it moves further from the center.

Pagan Imperialism (1928)



An infinite number of men on a land without light, reduced to pure quantity—and only to quantity—made equal by the material identity of the dependent parts of a mechanism left to itself, running empty and without possible control: this is the prospect at the end of the toward which

the entire Western world is converging. And those who sense the death of all life, the advent of the brute law of matter, and the triumph of a fact all the more frightening because it rests on no one, those people feel that there can be only one remedy: break the yoke of gold, transcend the social fetish and the law of interdependence, restore aristocratic values, those values of quality, difference, heroism, that sense of metaphysical reality against which everything today rebels.

Pagan Imperialism (1928)



The traditional world was hierarchical in the sacred sense, based on a metaphysical reality posited as the principle, center, and goal of existence, as the supreme stage of being, as the state of

truth. In this world, temporal order, through rays of light, formed a spontaneous transition between the human and the non-human, a symbolic vision of things, natures, and events, from which the transcended traditional sciences were to derive, and in which the elemental demonism of the lower, secular, and fleeting nature was stopped by forms of liberation and light. The rupture of the relationship between the two worlds; the concentration of all possibility in one of the two, that of man; the substitution of the superworld with ephemeral and momentary fantasies, adulterated by the murky exhalations of mortal nature—such is the meaning of the modern world.

“La Torre” (March 1, 1930)



Modern society presents precisely a type of organism that has passed from the human to the subhuman, in which every activity and every reaction is determined by the needs and inclinations of a purely corporeal life. Its dominant principles are exactly those that are proper to the animal and organic-vital part of traditional hierarchies (merchants and slaves): gold and labor.

Revolt Against the Modern World
(1934)



Middle Ages can essentially be summed up as an abnormal development of the bourgeois element and its interests and activities, in relation to the higher elements of the medieval hierarchy: a development that has taken on the

proportions of a veritable cancer. It is the bourgeois who has ridiculed the ideals of the old chivalric ethic. It was the bourgeoisie who, as the “new breed” despised by Dante, first gave the signal for anti-traditional revolt, usurping the right to bear arms, strengthening the centers of impure economic power, flying their own banners, and opposing imperial authority—with the communes—with an anarchic claim to autonomy. It was the bourgeoisie who, little by little, presented as natural what in other times would have seemed absurd heresy: the idea that the economy is our destiny, profit our goal, bargaining and trafficking the only forms of action; and then the idea that comfort, well-being, and welfare are the essence of civilization.

“Il Regime Fascista” (April 3, 1934)



In a traditional text written 25 centuries before Nietzsche, we read: "Once the way is lost (that is, immediate adherence to pure spirituality), virtue remains; once virtue is lost, ethics remains; once ethics is lost, moralism remains. Moralism is the exteriority of ethics and marks the beginning of decadence." Here, the various stages of the decline that led to the bourgeois idol, moralism, are concisely and accurately described. Such an idol was never known in the great traditional cultures: never before had there been a system of domestication and conformism based on convention, compromise, hypocrisy, and cowardice, justified solely by a narrow socialized utilitarianism.

"Il Regime Fascista" (April 3, 1934)



If there has ever been a slave civilization on a large scale, it is modern civilization. No traditional culture has seen such large masses condemned to blind, automatic, and soulless labor: slavery that is not even offset by the high stature and tangible reality of figures of lords and rulers, but is imposed in an innocuous manner through the tyranny of economic factors and the structures of a more or less collectivized society.

Revolt Against the Modern World
(1934)



It is obvious that we are living today in a culture in which, through regression, the predominant interest is not intellectual, spiritual, or heroic, or in any case referring to the higher manifestations of affectivity,

but is the sub-personal interest determined by the stomach and sex: and it is then that the saying of a great poet, according to whom hunger and love shape history, threatens to come true. The belly is today at the root of the most characteristic and calamitous social and economic struggles. Its counterpart is the importance that women, love, and sex have today.

Metaphysics of Sex (1958)



Revolt can be legitimate when it acts on a culture in which there is no longer any higher justification, a culture that is empty and absurd, mechanized and standardized, tending itself toward the sub-personal, toward the amorphous world of quantity. But when it comes to “rebels without a cause,” when revolt has,

so to speak, no other goal than itself, the rest being only a pretext, when it is accompanied by forms of unrestrained behavior, primitivism, abandonment to an elementary and inferior state (sex, drunkenness, gratuitous and often criminal violence, complacent exaltation of the vulgar and the anarchic), then it is not risky to establish a link between these phenomena and those which, on a different level, belong to the forces of chaos emanating from the ever more visible cracks in the existing order.

“Il Conciliatore”

(November 15, 1967)



The myth of science must be fought, or rather the idea that only science leads to what is worth knowing; the idea that, in its applications, science goes beyond the

means and thus contributes to solving the fundamental problems of existence and the world. Progressivism and scientism go hand in hand.

“Il Borghese” (September 5, 1968)



It is precisely because the *saeculum*, the world, has thrown itself frantically and blindly into immanence that the Church should have defended, with reinforced intransigence and determination, *supernaturalism*, that is, everything that has a transcendent and truly sacred character, starting from the values of contemplation and true asceticism. On the contrary, the concern to “keep up with the times” has led the supreme Catholic authorities in the opposite direction, toward adaptation and subjection,

silencing everything that might offend the people of our time.

“Il Conciliatore” (June 15, 1969)

HIERARCHY AND ARISTOCRACY

The real reason for the decline of political ideas in the contemporary West lies in the fact that the spiritual values that permeated the social order have vanished without anything to replace them.

Pagan Imperialism (1928)



Democratism lives on an old, completely gratuitous optimistic prejudice. It is completely unaware of the irrational nature of mass psychology [...] The masses are driven not by reason, but by enthusiasm, emotion, and suggestion. Like a woman, they follow whoever knows can best seduce, frighten, or attract it, by means that have no logic in themselves. Like a woman, it is fickle, and passes from one to another, without such a change

being uniformly explained by a rational law or by a progressive rhythm.

Pagan Imperialism (1928)



It would be absurd to imagine the true representatives of spiritual authority, that is, of tradition, running after men to chain them to their posts; to believe, in short, that they act and have any direct interest in creating and maintaining hierarchical relationships by virtue of which they can appear visibly as leaders. On the contrary, recognition by inferiors is the true basis of any normal and traditional hierarchy. It is not the superior who needs the inferior, but the inferior who needs the superior.

“Lo Stato” (May 1938)

How can we fail to understand that if there is equality, there cannot be freedom at the same time? That the leveling of possibilities, the identity of duties, and mutual recognition make freedom impossible? Let us repeat: true freedom exists only in hierarchy, in difference, in the irreducibility of human qualities; it exists only in societies where a small group is favored in the most complete development of human possibilities, even at the cost of the greatest inequality vis-à-vis others.

Pagan Imperialism (1928)



The foundation of the aristocratic type is above all spiritual. The meaning of spirituality here has little to do with its modern meaning: it refers to an innate

sense of sovereignty, a contempt for profane, common, acquired things born of skill, ingenuity, erudition, and even talent; a contempt that is quite similar to that professed by ascetics, yet differing from it in its complete absence of pathos and sentiment. The essence of true noble nature could be summed up in the following formula: a racial superiority over life that has become nature.

“Lo Stato” (October 1941)



Inequality is true in fact for the sole reason that it is true in law; it is real for the sole reason that it is necessary. What egalitarian ideology would like to portray as a state of justice would, on the contrary, from a higher point of view and free from humanitarian rhetoric, be a state of injustice. This is something that Aristotle

and Cicero had already recognized. To impose inequality means to transcend quantity, to admit quality. It is here that the concepts of individual and person are clearly distinguished.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



The principle that all men are free *by nature* and have equal rights is a complete absurdity, since men are not equal *by nature*. Once we have moved beyond the purely naturalistic stage, being a *person* is not a uniformly distributed quality; it cannot constitute equal dignity for all, derived from the mere fact of an individual's belonging to the biological species "human."

Men Among the Ruins (1953)

Freedom (the first term of the revolutionary trilogy) must be understood and defended in a qualitative way, commensurate with each person: each person must be given the freedom that is due to them, measured by the stature and dignity of their person and not by the abstract and elementary fact of their status as a human being or citizen.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



It is very convenient to forget that in history, both dictatorship and absolute democracy, which is necessarily demagogic, have been exceptions, and that the norm is made up of regimes, mostly monarchical, based on a legitimate and recognized principle of authority.

“Il Conciliatore” (March 15, 1969)

THE DOCTRINE
OF THE STATE

We have and must have nothing in common with the modern state. The modern state is behind us. This formula seeks to smuggle in the appendage of that evolutionary and progressive superstition which would have us believe that, with rationalism, scientism, and democracy, world history had truly reached adulthood, leaving far behind a world of barbarism.

“Lo Stato” (May 1937)



Once opposition to everything mechanical and inorganic has been marked, it is therefore a question of defining, among the various forms of organisms, the one that should serve as an analogical model for the new doctrine of the state. It seems equally clear to us that this type of organization, in order to

achieve unity, must have human beings as its elements and must more or less reproduce the same hierarchical relationships that define the human entity itself, not in an indeterminate or generic way, but in a precise way, manifested by the distinction and simultaneous coordination of four powers: the power of pure vitality, the power of organic economy (vegetative life, the great sympathetic system), the power of will, and the power of the spirit.

“Lo Stato” (May 1937)



The foundation of every true state is the transcendence of its principle, that is, the principle of sovereignty, authority, and legitimacy.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)

The political sphere is defined by warrior and hierarchical values, heroic and idealistic, anti-hedonistic and in a certain way anti-demonic, which detach it from the order of natural and vegetative existence; true political forces are largely autonomous (non-derived) ends, linked to ideals and interests that differ from those of peaceful existence, pure economics, and physical well-being; they refer to a higher dimension of life, to a distinct order of dignity. This opposition between the political sphere and the social sphere is fundamental.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



A sentence by Tacitus succinctly sums up what has happened since the Liberal Revolution: Ut *imperium evertant*,

libertatem praeferunt; si perveterint, libertatem ipsam adgredientur - that is to say: To overthrow the state, they appeal to liberty; once liberty is achieved, they will attack it. Plato had already said: "In no other political system does tyranny grow more easily and become more firmly established than in democracy, and thus extreme liberty gives rise to the most complete and bitter servitude." Liberalism and individualism have served only as instruments in the general plan of world subversion: they have opened the floodgates.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



The supposed *improvement of social conditions* should not be regarded as a good, but as an evil, if the price is the

enslavement of the individual to the productive mechanism and to the social conglomerate, the degradation of the state into a labor state, the elimination of all qualitative hierarchy, the atrophy of all spiritual sensitivity and of all heroic capacity in the broadest sense.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



A distinction should be made between the representative system in general and the egalitarian representative system based purely on numbers. The traditional state itself was based on the representative principle, but within an organic framework. It was a representation not of individuals, but of bodies, with individuals having value only insofar as they were part

of a differentiated unit, each with its own weight and quality.

“Il Fascismo” (1964)



The system that established itself in the West with the advent of democracy—the majority system with universal suffrage—immediately imposes the degradation of the ruling class. In fact, the majority, free from any restrictions or qualitative clauses, can only be on the side of the lowest social classes; and to win over such classes and be carried to power by their votes, it will always be necessary to speak the only language they understand, the one that puts forward their predominant interests, the crudest, most material and illusory ones, the one that promises and never demands. Thus, all democracy is, in principle, enrolled in the school of

immorality; it is an offense to the dignity and stature befitting a true political class.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



We must take a firm stand against racism, which considers all spiritual faculties and human values to be the mere effect of race understood in the biological sense, thus operating a deadly deduction from the inferior to the superior—more or less in the spirit that presides over Darwinism and Jewish psychoanalysis. But at the same time, we must take a stand against those who take advantage of racism reduced to anthropological, genetic, and biological issues to argue that race does exist, but that it has nothing to do with the problems, values, and activities that are properly spiritual and cultural to man.

Our point of view goes beyond both of these positions by affirming that race exists in both the body and the mind.

Elements of Racial Education (1941)

SEX AND EROS

Only in the mind is sex true and absolute. And virility means nothing other than solarity.

Traditional man sought to discover in divinity itself the secret and essence of sex. For him, before existing physically, the sexes existed as supra-individual forces and as transcendent principles; before appearing in nature, they existed in the sphere of the sacred, the cosmic, the spiritual. And in the manifold variety of divine figures differentiated as gods and goddesses, people sought to capture precisely the essence of the eternal masculine and the eternal feminine, whose opposing sexuality in human beings is only a particular manifestation and reflection.

Metaphysics of Sex (1958)



The regime of substitutes, substitutes, and tranquilizers that characterizes so many of today's distractions and entertainments does not yet allow the female sex to glimpse the crisis that awaits modern women when they realize how meaningless the male occupations for which they have fought so hard are, when their illusions and euphoria over their achievements fade vanish, when, on the other hand, she realizes that, given the climate of dissolution, family and children can no longer give her a satisfactory meaning in life, while the decline in tension means that men and sex can no longer mean much, can no longer constitute, as was the case for the absolute woman of tradition, the natural center of existence, but will come to him only as one of the ingredients of a dissipated and externalized existence, alongside sports, the narcissistic cult of the body, and other similar practical interests.

Ride the Tiger (1961)

Even if the race of real men had not entirely disappeared, modern man retaining very little of what constitutes masculinity in the higher sense, the problem would remain today of the ability of the real man to redeem, “to save the woman in the woman.” The risk would be that today, in most cases, the real man would be tempted by the other maxim, advised by the old Zarathustra: “Are you going to the woman? Then don't forget the whip!” - if in these progressive times it were possible to apply it with impunity and with results.

Ride the Tiger (1961)



By dint of seeing women naked or almost naked in the cinema, in miniskirts and super-miniskirts, topless and so on,

this nudity becomes a banality that gradually loses all effect, except that which is guided by the most primitive biological need. This immodesty can therefore be disapproved of not from the point of view of virtue, but from the exact opposite point of view. In this way, we can arrive at a state of “naturalness” and sexual indifference that no repressive puritanical morality could ever achieve.

Interview with “Playboy”
(February 1970)

CULTURE AND ART

It is the vision of the world that, beyond each culture, must unite and divide by drawing the uncrossable boundaries of the soul.

One can understand the opinion that, faithful to a traditional order, asserts that modern art no longer has anything to do with art or that art is dead. To tell the truth, from symbolism to Dadaism, we are already dealing with an irony of art, with schools that in their intimate essence, to varying degrees, are meta-artistic when they are not simply anti-artistic.

Phenomenology of the Absolute Individual
(1930)



In general, the *worldview*, more than an individual thing, proceeds from a tradition; it is the organic effect of the

forces to which a given type of culture owes its form; at the same time, *a parte subiecti*, it manifests itself as a kind of internal race, as something spiritually elementary and existential.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



The worldview may be more precise in an uneducated man than in a writer, more precise in a soldier, an aristocrat, or a peasant loyal to the land than in a bourgeois intellectual, a professor, or a journalist.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



Culture in the modern sense ceases to be a danger when those who use it already possess a worldview. Only then will we be active in relation to this culture, precisely because we will then have an internal form that allows us to distinguish between what must be assimilated and what must be rejected—more or less as happens in any differentiated process of organic assimilation.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



If Adamo was able to assert in his philosophy of modern music that “dodecaphonism is our destiny,” someone else referred to it as the ice age of music. This leads to compositions in which extreme rarefaction and formal abstraction are analogous to those of the world of pure

algebraic entities in physics or, on a completely different level, to a certain surrealism [...] As in the technical world created by machines, mechanical perfection in music and the scope of the new means available have been counterbalanced by emptiness, disembodiment, spectrality, and chaos. However, it seems inconceivable that the new dodecaphonic and post-dodecaphonic language could serve as a means of expression for any of the content of previous music. Its background is inner devastation.

Ride the Tiger (1961)



If the true classical element is the love of form, form can be understood and realized precisely on the level of pure forces

such as ethos, a dominant, clear lifestyle, free of vain agitation, enemy of everything that is not essential, particular, linked solely to impulsiveness — active impersonality, according to which the work and the action are worth more than the person in their accidental particularity, can enter into the same line. From this perspective, discipline is a value; firmness and measured dignity are values; the law without weakness is a value.

And, ultimately, the “Olympic” ideal is a value, a value of clarity, order, hierarchy, of a cosmos in the original Greek sense, sovereignty that has resolved chaos and transcended the purely human element, just as the cold clarity of the peaks overlooks the uncertain mists of the valley.

“Il Conciliatore” (March 15, 1971)

It is above all the representatives of the right in the higher, traditional sense who should challenge the bourgeois myth of culture and maintain a healthy distrust of intellectuals, without regard for those who enjoy prestige in the eyes of the general public and who, moreover, are very adept at schmoozing to maintain their positions in the press and publishing.

“Il Conciliatore”
(November 15, 1971)

KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-REALIZATION

We say that philosophy in general culminates in transcendental idealism, which inevitably ends in magical idealism. Beyond that, there is nothing left to explore in philosophy. If we must think of a further development beyond magical idealism, it cannot be philosophy but a form of action, referring to self-realization according to power.

Theory of the Absolute Individual
(1927)



The explanation demanded by magical idealism is an explanation through action, an explanation that resolves. To explain comes from *explicare*, that is, to realize, to make perfect, and to bring into action what is only potential, to perfection what is only imperfect, to sufficiency what is

insufficient, according to a synthetic, original, and creative process.

Theory of the Absolute Individual
(1927)



“Living the myth” means using symbols to attain a perception of a supra-historical order in which nature and man are, so to speak, in a state of creation, and which contains the secret of the energies that act within visible things and human corporeality.

The Hermetic Tradition (1931)



To give form to life, one must first realize what is beyond life; to awaken the race of the spirit and, with it, elevate that of the body, one must be able to reach its height, and this implies asceticism, that is, active detachment, heroic self-transcendence, a climate of extreme spiritual tension.

Synthesis of Racial Doctrine (1941)



All modern science has no value whatsoever as knowledge; it is based on a formal renunciation of knowledge in the true sense. The driving and organizing force of modern science does not derive at all from the ideal of knowledge, but exclusively from practical requirements, and, one might say, from the will to power applied to things, to nature [...] In the final

analysis, the drive for knowledge has been transformed into an impulse to dominate, and it is from a scientist, B. Russell, that science, from a means of knowing the world, has become a means of changing the world.

Ride the Tiger (1961)

SURPASSING ONESELF

The aspiration to the supernatural lies in the depths of human nature and cannot be denied without mutilating nature itself.

*The Mask and Face of Contemporary
Spiritualism* (1932)



One must know how to renounce everything as soon as one feels it becoming necessary, as soon as one discovers a desire or a complacency for it; one must have as a principle not what pleases us but what costs us. One must always keep in view the line of strongest resistance and thus make the will ever stronger and purer, the possession of self ever more energetic.

“Bilychnis” (1925)

This is how we measure power: to what extent we are capable of living in a world where there is no longer any meaning, truth, purpose, law, justice, or causality—and still wanting this world.

Theory of the Absolute Individual
(1927)



The distinction in human beings between the three principles of body, soul, and spirit is fundamental to the traditional view [...] In the traditional conception, the spirit has always meant something supra-rational and supra-individual; it therefore has nothing to do with the common intellect and even less with the pale world of thinkers and scholars; rather, it is the element on which all virile asceticism and

all heroic elevation, all effort to achieve in life what is “more than life” is based.

Synthesis of Racial Doctrine (1941)



If humanity were to return to more normal conditions one day, few cultures would seem as strange to it as ours, in which we have pursued all forms of power and domination over matter, while neglecting the domination of the mind, emotions, and psychic life in general. Thus, many of our contemporaries—the so-called men of action in the front line—resemble those crustaceans that are so hard and full of scabrous growths on the outside and so soft and spineless on the inside.

The Doctrine of Awakening
(2nd edition, 1965)

There is no progress worth its salt (and which can render superfluous the function that religion can have in the highest and most severe sense for undegraded man) when it comes to more real problems, such as death, existential anxiety, and upheavals caused by the irruption of the irrational, passions, and instincts themselves. To believe otherwise, to believe that progress, science, technocracy, or even Christ, when falsely presented as a model of humanitarian altruism, can solve such problems, is primitive and shows a complete lack of understanding of the tragedy of life and the human condition.

“Il Conciliatore” (June 15, 1969)

EXISTENTIAL ORIENTATIONS

At a certain point, it is no longer blood, feelings, a homeland or a common destiny that will make you feel united with another. You can only feel united with those who are on the same path as you.

Introduction to Magic (1927)



There is a love that is a sign of richness, a pure and free act that gives with absolute generosity, because it can give; and then there is a love that is a need for support, abandonment of the soul, voluptuousness of feelings, a thirst for communication to escape an isolation that one feels incapable of facing. The first is something luminous and superhuman, the second is something kneaded with passion and necessity, on the level of what is woman, and not yet man.

and superhuman; the second is something steeped in passion and necessity, on the level of what is woman, and not yet man. The first testifies to individuality, the second corrupts it. The first confirms differences, the second abolishes them in the swoon of embraces, in altruism, in the communion of souls. The first is a gift, a freedom—the second is effectively a way of consuming each other, of contaminating each other.

Pagan Imperialism (1928)



The reward of virtue is virtue itself: virtue is a value in itself, and, tearing itself away from the temptations of the senses, it must be desired for its own sake: in a pure, absolute, non-human way.

Pagan Imperialism (1928)

Worthy of the name of man - *vir* - is he who has his own standard within himself, who is active in the face of reality, refuses to submit to its violence, knows how to direct it or, when that becomes impossible, to block its path.

“Rassegna Italiana” (October 1939)



There is no *one* History, a mysterious entity written with a capital H. It is men, as long as they are truly men, who make and unmake history; historicism is more or less the same thing as what, in left-wing circles, is called progressivism, and today it wants only one thing: to foment passivity in the face of the current that is growing and leading us ever lower. And, branded as reactionaries, you respond: You would like us, while you act, destroy, and desecrate, to

not react but to stand by and watch, and you would even like to hear us say: Bravo, keep going?

Orientations (1950)



Faced with psychoanalysis, the ideal of a self that does not abdicate, that intends to remain conscious, autonomous and sovereign in the face of the nocturnal and subterranean part of the soul and the demon of sexuality; an ego that does not feel repressed or psychotically divided, but achieves a balance of all human faculties ordered by a meaning of living and acting.

Orientations (1950)

There is no economic growth or prosperity to which we must succumb when the price to pay is an essential limitation of the freedom and space necessary for each individual to realize what is accessible to them beyond the conditioned sphere of matter and the needs of ordinary life.

Men Among the Ruins (1953)



If there were to be a fundamental reaction against the system, which is to say against the structures of society and the modern world in general, I believe there would be little prospect of success [...] It would not be a matter of contesting or arguing, but of blowing everything up: which, to date, is obviously the stuff of fantasy or utopia, leaving plenty of room

for sporadic anarchism. What is possible and important is individual inner defense, for which the appropriate formula is: “Make sure that what you have no hold over cannot have a hold over you.”

Interview with Gianfranco de Turris,
“Il Conciliatore” (January 15, 1970)

